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BENJAMIN BOYD IN AUSTRALIA

(1842-1849)

Shipping Magnate : Merchant : Banker :
Pastoralist and Station Owner :
Member of the Legislative Council :
Town Planner : Whaler.

By H. P. WELLINGS.

PRICE, 1/6

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BENJAMIN BOYD IN AUSTRALIA

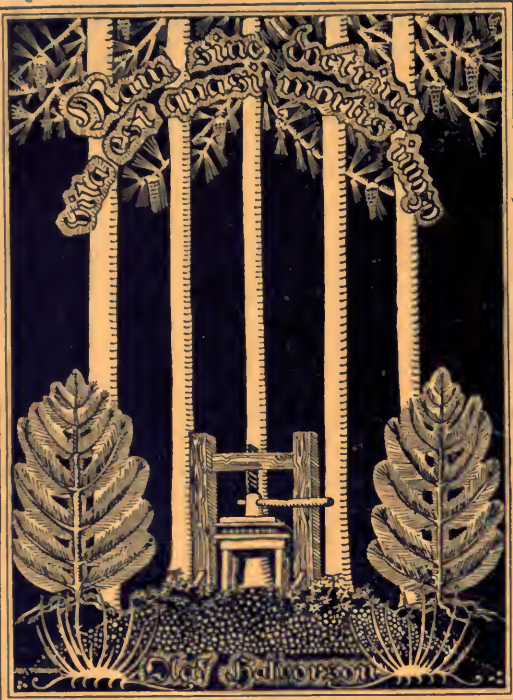
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Benjamin Boyd in Australia

(1842 - 1849)

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FOREWORD.



THERE are many attractions for visitors to Twofold Bay, but one section will always take a foremost place in view of the fact that a prominent feature stands conspicuously forward in each of two distinct areas. The southern section of Twofold Bay has, for nearly ninety years, been associated with the activities of a gentleman who adventured into the commercial, industrial, shipping, and political arena of the forties of last century, and whilst his sojourn in Australia extended to less than ten years, yet he left a lasting memory of his activities here, and provided scope for many more or less authentic stories connected with his adventuring.

The arrival of Benjamin Boyd in Australia marked the beginning of a period of hitherto unknown commercial adventuring; his exit, and subsequent mysterious disappearance, occasioned much conjecture, and, incidentally, cost the Government and a section of the business community of Sydney a considerable sum of money.

The outstanding features at Twofold Bay which indicate something of Benjamin Boyd's activities have been written of, photographed, and sketched by many persons, but, unfortunately, greatly desecrated by the hands of vandals. The following account of Benjamin Boyd's activities in Australia—though by limitation of the available space, necessarily condensed—has been prepared after a considerable period of close research, and with the desire to give to the travelling public a handy and authentic record. The story as now unfolded may be regarded as thoroughly reliable in every statement.



Benjamin Boyd.



THE STORY OF BOYDTOWN AND ITS FOUNDER.



IN 1839 and 1840, after hearing of the reputed attractive opportunities for the employment of large sums of capital in the young and growing colony of New South Wales, Benjamin Boyd, a London stock-broker, decided to investigate with a view to entering the commercial and shipping fields of the southern lands. Being a man of quick action, and having extensive monetary resources at his command, in addition to a circle of persuadable investors, Boyd was soon deeply engaged in the preliminaries to actual active participation. A preliminary application to the British Government for permission to acquire land upon the eastern seaboard of New South Wales, backed up by a statement that he had already despatched to that colony a large steam vessel with a view to inaugurating a steamship service along the eastern coast, and that he proposed despatching another and possibly a third steam vessel for the same purpose, brought him little more than a half-hearted response. He was informed that the Governors of the colonies were empowered to deal with lands and upon certain established formulae, but beyond suggesting to the Governors that Mr. Boyd's requests might be given favourable consideration, the home authorities refused to go. Boyd followed up his request with a second letter reiterating his former intentions and request, and laid before the authorities a picturesque scheme for the inauguration

of a minor colony, or even a private colony, upon one or other of the islands of the Pacific, which might, upon favourable occasion and under his personal control, later become a portion of the southern lands of the British Empire. Despite the high eloquence of Boyd's description of the projected island colony, this portion of his request appears to have been given but scant consideration. Whatever assistance Benjamin Boyd might be accorded by the British Government would be within the margins of established laws and customs in the colony into which he proposed to adventure himself and his capital.

Undeterred by the attitude of the authorities, Boyd set up his objective and proceeded to arrange his affairs accordingly. In September, 1840, the paddle-steamer "Seahorse" sailed from Gravesend for Sydney—this was one of the steam vessels referred to by Boyd in his letters to the British Government. She was reported to have been valued at about £30,000, and one of the finest steamers seen in the Port of London. The "Seahorse" was purchased from the St. George Steam Packet Company—a concern in which Boyd had large capital interests at the time. In March, 1842, a second steam vessel, the paddle-steamer "Juno," arrived in Sydney—Boyd being the owner, he having purchased her also from the St. George Steam Packet Company. In June, 1842, the third steam vessel, the paddle-steamer "Cornubia," arrived in Sydney from London, Boyd again being the reputed owner. (A complete description of these steamers and their activities will be found in a separate section of this book.)

Having provided for steam vessels which he proposed to utilize in his coastal steamship service, Boyd had not forgotten to arrange for certain other matters in connection with his undertakings. A banking company, known as the Royal Bank of Australia, was floated, its capital being largely subscribed by Scottish investors, included in which were many small investors lured into the scheme by the grandeur with which the prospects of handsome returns were presented. A London Board of Directors was appointed with several well-known business men amongst the number. Its capital was £1,000,000 divided into twenty thousand shares of £50 each.

A further adventure into the financial section of the proposed enterprise was the formation of the Australian Wool Company—in reality a proprietary concern owned by Benjamin Boyd in conjunction with one of his brothers, Mark Boyd.

To complete the chain of business concerns, all immediately connected with the proposed operations in New South Wales, Boyd traded in both London and Sydney as "B. Boyd & Co., Brokers," and "B. & M. Boyd, Brokers and General Agents."

Having completed his arrangements, Boyd gathered round him a number of gentlemen who were to become active members of his staff in the colony. Several of these gentlemen took passage to

Sydney in one or other of the three steamers despatched by Boyd, whilst a select party of convivial spirits sailed with their chief on board his schooner-yacht, "Wanderer," a vessel of eighty-four tons measurement, a unit of the Royal Yacht Squadron, of which Benjamin Boyd was a prominent member, and a popular one.

Leaving Plymouth on the 23rd of December, 1841, the "Wanderer" was headed for Rio de Janeiro, and, during the voyage, touched at various ports, thereby affording the party occasion for both amusement and relaxation from the monotonies of ocean travel. After leaving Rio, a call was made at Tristan d'Achuna, thence at the Cape of Good Hope, from whence the yacht sailed towards Australia, making her first call at Port Phillip, and finally made her way to Port Jackson, where the cruise ended on the 18th of July, 1842. In view of the immense interest which centered in Boyd's expected arrival in the colony, the press reports which had from time to time filtered through from English newspapers, and the glowing account given by the Port Phillip newspapers on her arrival in Hobson's Bay, it is not surprising to find that as the "Wanderer" sailed into Port Jackson and finally dropped anchor in Farm Cove, a tremendous welcome was extended to the owner and his vessel, cannon being fired in salute and flags run up conveying messages of welcome.

Benjamin Boyd made a most triumphal entry—his membership with the Royal Yacht Club and the privileges which that exclusive body gave him, added to the glamour with which his proposed commercial enterprises had already garbed him. From the moment of Boyd's arrival he became the object of curiosity and, doubtless, of much discussion.

With but little delay Boyd proceeded to put into effect the principal enterprises which he controlled. Thus, a few weeks after his arrival an advertisement appeared in the Sydney newspapers notifying that the Royal Bank of Australia was prepared to operate in bills on London in sums of varying amounts.

The steamer "Seahorse" was put into service between Port Jackson and Port Phillip, and extensions to Loundeston, there being satisfactory cargoes of general produce and cattle offering between those ports. The "Juno" was not put into service for some considerable time, the "Cornubia" being practically idle for an even longer period.

It soon became very evident that Boyd's ideas as to the inauguration of a coastal steamship service had been put into effect some time prior to his arrival, the "James Watt" being engaged in coastal service between Port Jackson, Port Phillip and Van Diemen's Land, if not regularly, at least upon several voyages. Not only was this vessel so engaged, but another steamship service had been inaugurated by the enterprising business men of Sydney; vessels were trading to the northward of Port Jackson, principally between there and the Coal River (Hunter River).

At the outset of Boyd's steamship venture, difficulties were forseen by possible duplication of routes. Happily, however, an arrangement was reached whereby Boyd kept his attention to the southern route whilst the other interests paid particular attention northward.

Ere the "Seahorse" had seen a year's service on the Australian coast, disaster was met with. In June, 1843, she struck a rock in the Tamar on a voyage from George Town towards Sydney. The vessel managed to reach Sydney—her active service ceased on her arrival. Following upon prolonged litigation between Boyd and the various insurance companies which had underwritten the vessel, Boyd found himself saddled with the total loss of the "Seahorse" and the huge expense entailed therein. No less than five insurance concerns held cover and the combined total was £25,000.

Simultaneously with the placing of the "Seahorse" in service, Boyd opened negotiations for the acquirement of station properties. Within two years of his arrival in the colony he had acquired control of a vast area of country and upon which he had vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep depastured. By 1845 Benjamin Boyd had risen to the rank of practically the most important land holder in Australia next to the Crown. In Riverina alone he controlled one million and three quarter acres, upon which over eight thousand cattle and a hundred and forty-odd thousand sheep grazed. On the Monaro plateau and some adjacent country his holding amounted to over half a million acres, upon which eighteen thousand sheep and thirteen thousand cattle grazed.

The majority of these holdings were in the name of the Royal Bank of Australia, though the more important stations appear to have been held by Boyd personally.

Twofold Bay was chosen by Boyd as his important shipping port and appropriate conveniences were ordered to be provided. An hotel was designed and building operations commenced within the first year of Boyd's arrival in the colony. A large store, a suitable collection of buildings and furnaces for the rendering of cattle and sheep for tallow, a jetty at which vessels might berth for the discharge and loading of cargo, wells for an assured supply of fresh water both for the settlement supply and for shipping, a three-storied brick woolshed, vegetable gardens and orchards laid out, necessary dwellings for the various members of his staff and for the housing of employees—these and many incidentals connected therewith, were put in hand. A township began to appear upon the flat land lying immediately behind the sandy beach edging South Bay.

The advantages offered by Twofold Bay for shipping were not the only attractions for Boyd's activities; shore whaling had been in existence for over fifteen years prior to his arrival. Deep-sea whale ships had frequented the port for the unique opportunity of completing the trying-out of oil from whale carcasses. Benjamin

Boyd added both phases of whaling to his undertakings. Twofold Bay began to assume an unusual air of activity and importance. It is recorded that during the year 1844 no less than thirty whale-boats—both five and seven oars amongst the number—were equipped and ready during the active season, for instant pursuit of any leviathan which might venture within reasonable distance of the port. As many as nine deep-sea whalers have been recorded as taking shelter or refitting in Twofold Bay at the same time.



Note issued by Benjamin Boyd.

All this activity on behalf of Boyd and the Royal Bank of Australia entailed the expenditure of vast sums of money and the employment of hundreds of workmen. Difficulties of finance naturally arose and without an equal income from the sale of wool, cattle, whale-oil, tallow, hides, bones, etc., some provision had to be made. In common with several other enterprises of the period, Benjamin Boyd issued private notes which could be used as currency and cashed at stated places. His notes were in denominations of five shillings and upwards to one pound. By means of this currency Boyd was enabled, in some degree, to lessen the strain upon his resources of cash, for, in the majority of cases, employees paid at the settlement with these notes sought goods at the store to an appreciable amount of the face-value.

The peculiar advantages which the complexity of undertakings controlled by the Royal Bank of Australia, B. Boyd & Co., the Australian Wool Company, and the Australian Agency of M. & B. Boyd afforded Boyd in his financing problems can be readily

appreciated. The various cargoes despatched from the Colony to the London markets, in actual fact, did pass through a complexity of control. As the proceedings in bankruptcy some years later clearly demonstrated, Boyd manipulated cleverly. Station products purchased by the Royal Bank of Australia were shipped by B. Boyd & Coy., as agents, to either of the agencies under the Boyd brothers' control in London, and sold either by them or possibly by the Australian Wool Company; proceeds became much entangled in the process and various commissions sadly depleted the nett returns.

Numbered amongst the members of Boyd's staff, both in the rural and the shipping areas, were men who gave little or no thought for the man who was responsible for their employment; the majority, happily, were honest to their employer. With dishonest officers in control of various sections of the undertakings, it was but a natural sequence that trouble arose. At Twofold Bay buildings were commenced without proper authority for their construction; doubtful negotiations were entered into between the supervisors and the craftsmen; underhand demands for exorbitant commissions made upon suppliers of materials; misrepresentation as to the number and class of employees; these, and many other subterfuges for extorting commissions and securing advantages could have but one effect upon the whole enterprise under Boyd's control. By 1847 the affairs of the undertakings were hopelessly entangled: misleading reports to the directors of the Royal Bank in London placed a false value upon the colonial business, and soon it was realised that under Boyd's further control the whole of the shareholders' capital might be wholly jeopardised. Benjamin Boyd was superseded by William Sprott Boyd, who would appear to have been a first cousin.

It must have been anything but a position of satisfaction for Sprott Boyd to arrive in the colony and realise the mass of tangled business transactions which awaited his inspection. Faced with what was well-nigh an impossible task, Sprott Boyd soon found that he had no alternative than to wind up the affairs of the Royal Bank of Australia as quickly as he might, and at the same time with due regard for the salvaging of the assets.

By 1849 the operations at Twofold Bay had ceased entirely, and year by year the many buildings—the majority of which had never even reached completion of construction—began to fall into disrepair, and the transition to decay was but a matter of time. Steadily time has marked its course upon the buildings, and the eighty-odd years following the dismissal of Benjamin Boyd from control of the undertakings have left only a portion of the Seahorse Inn to indicate what was to have been the important pivot of a township and seaport from which the products of a vast hinterland should find a steady stream of vessels engaged in freighting to overseas markets and returning laden with goods in kind for

the vast population dependent upon the undertakings.


The various station properties were gradually disposed of, in the majority of cases at figures far below values ; stock was given away ; the three steamers passed into varying control ; the whaling fleet passed into other hands ; the shore whaling crews and equipment were distributed amongst adventuring parties ; the whole venture so brilliantly launched yet so completely wrecked.

Benjamin Boyd sought other channels for the exercise of his brilliant mind. Turning to the glowing reports of gold-winning in California, he decided to participate. Sailing from Sydney in his yacht "Wanderer" in 1849, he steered for the Californian coast. Almost a year was spent there, with varying success. Then he turned to his former scheme for the creation of a miniature principality or colony upon one of the islands of the Pacific. How far Benjamin Boyd's brilliant mind may have carried this scheme to perfection can not be even conjectured—it had little more than a mere beginning. Boyd examined several islands and finally reached San Cristoval. Here he evidently imagined he had found his ideal land. The "Wanderer" paused and lay at anchor for a few days whilst Boyd made inspections ashore during the daylight hours. Then the yacht was moved to another anchorage, from whence Boyd determined to make further investigations.

Soon after daylight next morning (15th October, 1851), Boyd, accompanied by a native of Ponape, took the ship's boat and made for the shore, proposing to indulge in a little duck-shooting before breakfast. From the moment of Boyd's leaving the "Wanderer" that morning authentic history of the man ceases. Two reports of gunfire were heard on board the yacht soon after the boat left. After an hour or so of waiting a search was decided upon. A gun-wad, imprints of great numbers of naked feet, and evidences of a struggle, were the only traces found. The deserted boat held nothing to explain Boyd's absence. For several days a close search was made in the locality, but without success. The "Wanderer" was then put under weigh for Port Jackson. On the 13th of November, 1851, she appeared off the coast of New South Wales at Port Macquarie and in evident distress. Disabled by the fury of tempestuous gales and seas, the graceful yacht was now battered and forlorn. In an attempt to make the entrance to Port Macquarie, the "Wanderer" struck on the bar and was completely wrecked, ending her days after a most eventful career in both English and Colonial waters.

Some years later, whilst reports as to the probable captivity of Benjamin Boyd by the natives at Guadalcanar were being investigated by the commander of H.M.S. "Herald," a skull was purchased from a native chief purporting to be that of Boyd. Subsequent investigation in Sydney Museum proved that the skull was that of a native, not of a European. The truth as to Boyd's death remains untold . . . unknown.

THE BUILDINGS CONNECTED WITH BOYDTOWN.

HE most prominent feature of Boydtown to-day is the ruined building generally described as the "hotel." Even in its present condition it suggests something unique, for its architecture has perhaps no parallel in the whole of Australia. Mainly Elizabethan, the old building has features which betoken both Georgian and Tudor styles. Probably the most unique portion and the feature which attracts the eye commandingly is the style of the chimneys. Viewed from the seafront, and in its original condition, the building had four chimney-pieces. The two central pieces had four separate flues, and so arranged that the corners of each flue were united, the diagonal form of construction being in itself unique. At each wing of the building another chimney-piece stood, they in turn having two individual flues built diagonally and united at the tops. This form of construction gave individuality to the general appearance of the building.

Arranged in an imposing manner, the building gave that dominating air of individuality which characterises the style. The left wing held importance, inasmuch as the famous cedar panelling of the walls housed the billiard table. Doubtless, at this table, and in the room which gave so broad an outlook over the sheltering bays which comprise the western and southern sections of Twofold Bay, many a game of billiards or pool provided keen interest not only to the players, but also to observers from ships at anchor in the bay, visiting station-owners and overseers from the Monaro plateau. The rack for the cues stood on the southern wall of the billiard room, whilst between the cue-rack and the fireplace hung the marking-board whereon the indicator marked the progress of the game. A fine Gothic window gave outlook over the waters of Twofold Bay, whilst the exit door opened out upon a fine, spacious, stone-flagged verandah.

The verandah stretched across the whole frontage to a similar room at the opposite wing of the building. Here was the sitting-room, spacious and lofty, with fine cedar panelling to its walls. The verandah, at the centre of the building, passed under a roomy porch, the main entrance being here. Entering the building from this porch, a hall gave access to rooms on both right and left-hand, and extended to the rear of the main portion of the hotel. The bar was upon the left-hand side—the last remaining portion of the commodious bottle-racks being visible at the time of writing this description. Half-way along the hall, and beyond the bar door, a staircase led to several attic rooms, two dormer windows indicating from the outside of the building something of the spacious upper rooms at the hostelry. Several bedrooms were

provided upon the ground floor. Continuing through the hall and towards the general section of the hotel, or inn, a covered way, flagged with bricks in parquetry style, gave access to the "tap-room." Beyond the tap-room was the rear entrance. On either side of the tap-room were the kitchen, with its attendant pantry and its cellar, and the general dining-room, also with storeroom. These small cell-like rooms off both dining-room and kitchen have been ridiculously described by many writers as cells wherein riotous patrons and drunken roysterers were incarcerated, whilst other suggestions have been that these cell-like rooms were specially constructed for the safe-keeping of convicts who were on Boyd's pay-roll.

Surrounding the whole building was a high and solidly-built brick wall, broken at convenient points where gates gave ingress and egress. The courtyards at the rear of the main buildings were divided into sections by means of brick walls; the intention of these divisions of the courtyard does not appear to have been definite, for examination of certain written descriptions of the old inn, compiled during its construction, leaves room for doubt as to whether some additions were contemplated.

The buildings were originally roofed with slates. It was only within very recent years that the corrugated iron now upon the roof of the rear portion was placed there; the slating on the main front roof was repaired from the roof of the rear building.

High on the wall, under the roof of the entrance porch in front, may be seen the inscription indicating the date of erection. Commenced in 1843, the building never reached a state of completion.

Announcing the fact that provision was being made for the accommodation of travellers journeying to Twofold Bay from the Monaro Tableland, and for those who might be visiting the settlement of Boyd, an advertisement which appeared in the Sydney news-sheets of 1843 drew attention to the "Seahorse Inn." The wording of this notice is well worth recording here. It is taken from the "Sydney Herald," 1843 :—

SEAHORSE HOTEL.

Township of Boyd, Twofold Bay.

For the convenience of Passengers going to and returning from Maneroo, this Hotel will be completed in a few weeks, and will be conducted in a manner calculated to give satisfaction to the public, and as nearly as possible at English prices.

It needs but a very little stretch of the imagination to visualise the scenes of revelry and the hilarity with which frequenters of the hotel toasted their friends at the bar or in the tap-room, and the groups of more sober-minded patrons seated after dinner at night,



"Seahorse Inn," Boydtown, Twofold Bay.

appreciative of the comforts which the Seahorse Hotel afforded them, after a stormy passage from either Sydney or Port Phillip, on board the various vessels which made Boyd a port of call.

To give another pen-picture of the Seahorse Hotel, the following extract from a Sydney weekly journal, written around about 1893, might well be included here :—

Beyond a brick wall which encloses a lawn, a wide verandah, floored with slate squares, shields the front of the house, which is mainly of brick, cemented on the outside to represent stone. The building is covered with a solid slate roof. Passing under a porch, solid in stone and brick, the main hall is entered. To the left is the bar, where the casks still stand, names of the liquors for which they were intended showing plainly upon them. Behind the bar is the billiard-room, the table sinking into disrepair, and the cues standing forlornly in the cedar brackets. The marking-board still hangs on the wall, but it is fifty years since the same indicator told the progress of the game. On the other side of the building is the ballroom. On the ground floor, in all, are eleven rooms, and three old-fashioned attics above. Across the courtyard stand the kitchen and parlour and tap-room, once used by visitors of little consequence. The ceilings of lath and plaster are almost as good as when the plasterer's hand smoothed them two generations ago. The cedar woodwork also shows its rare quality.

Other descriptions of the same period refer to the splendid sample of the joiner's art in the panelling, also to "a guillotine-like shutter fitted into the tap-room counter for closing off the contents from the public when occasion arose."

The building was mainly "rubble" construction, bricks being used in the fireplaces and division walls. An inspection of the rapidly-falling building will indicate something of the enormous

amount of work which was entailed in its construction and the generous proportions of the "Seahorse Hotel."

The sandstone used in various portions of the building, such as the entrances, windows, etc., was quarried at Pyrmont (Sydney). The majority of the heavy timber was sawn in the vicinity of the Boydtown property, in saw-pits. The whole of the bricks were burned within five hundred yards of the building. The remains of the kilns, and unburnt bricks still in position ready for firing, may be seen ; so also the beds from which the clay was taken.

Included in the design of the Seahorse Hotel and its grounds, provision had been made for decorative gardens ; the collapse of the undertakings in general precluded the actual realization of this adjunct.

To the southward of the Seahorse Hotel enclosure a lone chimney stands, suggestive in its design of the feature of the hotel. Here was a dwelling—for want of a definitely accurate title ; tradition claims that this was the resident doctor's cottage. It is by no means definite that this cottage was intended for, or was ever occupied by, a doctor. Both Dr. Fennell and Dr. Faddy, who were attached in a semi-official capacity to Boyd's enterprises at Twofold Bay, did practice at the settlement when occasion demanded their services. Coming to the colony more in the capacity of a close friend of Benjamin Boyd, Dr. Fennell contented himself chiefly with gardening as a hobby. His actual place of residence was at East Boyd—a section of Boyd's enterprises which is described briefly in another section of this story. The best interpretation of the cottage and its use appears to be that of the residence of one of Boyd's officials who had charge of the store where the settlement's supplies were to be purchased. This cottage was of brick, its roof being slated.

On the northern side of the Seahorse Hotel grounds stood a fine, large, brick building. This has been termed the "salting house," though that title is open to much question. It is evident, from the data examined, that this building was intended as a second storehouse. The position, if intended as a "salting house" (or building wherein green hides, horns, bones, etc., might be treated preparatory to export), suggests a rather too close proximity to the centre of the settlement and hotel. Keeping in mind the undoubted fact that the settlement gave evidence of rapid expansion during Boyd's activities, it is not unreasonable to suggest that this building might have been intended as a store. Beyond a fairly distinct outline marking the extent of the building, nothing remains but broken bricks.

These three buildings formed the principal section of the township of Boyd : a series of workmen's quarters and odd shacks scattered over the flat provided the remainder of the settlement. Other pretentious buildings were contemplated, and actual sites

chosen, but these did not reach a point of actual construction. The idea was to create an avenue, or main street, along the immediate beach front, with a series of lanes of access to another avenue at the rear of the hotel. It is very evident that had Benjamin Boyd been able to complete his grandiose scheme for the township of Boyd, the result would have been enchanting, for the unique background of sharply rising hills, backed by the imposing heights of Mount Imlay, with the broad expanse of Twofold Bay fronting the settlement, and the natural sequence of assembled shipping at anchor or berthed at suitable jetties, would have completed a picture difficult to parallel.

Leaving the site of projected township of Boyd and taking the beach as an open walk to the southward, then mounting the immediate summit of sands at the foot of the cliffs, a heap of brickwork connected with a brick-lined pit, or series of pits, suggests some extensive but now ruined structure. Here was constructed a wool-store of noble proportions. Built in three floors in solid brickwork, the wool-store rose until it topped the immediate cliff behind, where its third floor provided means of access from the hill-top. Examination in the immediate area of this hill-top will reveal that at some former period a roadway terminated there. Fur-



Ruined Wool Store, at Boydtown, Twofold Bay.

ther examination in a wider circle would reveal that the road had been provided definitely to serve this wool-store.

It was here that the wool, shorn from the sheep which were depastured upon the Monaro Plateau, sixty miles back into the hinterland, was, after transport by means of bullock waggons, stored to await shipment from a wharf which jutted out into the bay immediately in front of the wool-store. As with all the build-

ings at Boydtown, the bricks were burned nearby and the heavier timbers hewn or sawn within a mile or two of the settlement.

A little beyond the wool-store ruins may be seen a large heap of "mud-oyster" shells. A little time spent in rummaging here will prove that at one time a vast heap of shells had been built. These oyster shells had been gathered from distant shores and transported to Twofold Bay for calcining into lime. Thus the necessary and principal ingredient for mortar was provided for use in bricklaying and in plastering.

No definite indication exists to-day to determine the site of the wharf which was constructed from this point. To those who in former years knew something of Boydtown and its ruins, the actual site of the wharf is known. Sufficient, however, to visitors to-day is the suggestion that its site was directly opposite the wool-store.

Leaving this interesting and little-known section of the industrial activities of Boydtown, and taking a path on the southern bank of the creek which at times is opened through the beach to the sea, a walk of less than a quarter of a mile brings the visitor to the old brick kilns. Very little search will reveal the outlines of the kilns and at the same time suggest the magnitude of the work which had been carried on there.

Extending further along the creek side and broadening into a spacious area of flat land was the principal section of cultivatable land. Here Dr. Fennell laid out the first vegetable garden and orchard connected with the settlement. The various employees under his control carried out his instructions and the good medico reaped much satisfaction upon his bi-weekly visits from East Boyd. On this flat may be found two wells of water. Time, in its ruthless march, has left but little to mark these wells, with their circular, brick-lined walls and approximate depth of forty feet. The vegetable gardens yielded bounteously to the water drawn from the depths. A few months after completion of the wells they were bricked over in dome shape, following an English custom, and provided with hand-pumps for lifting the water to the surface.

Incidentally, and concurrent with the erection of the various buildings at Boydtown, a number of similar wells were dug and brick-lined in order to insure an adequate supply of fresh water. Some of these wells may be located even now, but the brick domes have long since collapsed.

Retracing one's steps to the beach, and thence by way of the hotel to the approach from Prince's Highway, two interesting sections of Boyd's undertakings may be visited.

At the foot of the first hill-slope, back of the hotel site, where the inward road gives first sight of the buildings, a more or less open stretch of grass flat extends to the bank of the creek. A little search at the edge of the bracken on the left hand and close to the creek bank will reveal a pile of broken brickwork. Two

fine pittisporums have reared their heads upon the end of this pile and the entanglement of rootwork is curious. These two trees, born upon the ruined brickwork, sent their tender rootlets along the lines of least resistance—the mortar which bound the bricks into position. In the course of the trees' growth these roots formed the curious patterns which so clearly to-day stand out to view. Many bricks, or what were formerly bricks, are encircled by roots. The growth is interesting.

There are the ruined remains of the "boiling-down" works. Search amongst the ruins will demonstrate the extent and general layout of the building. It was a series of fire-places all connected with a central heat channel and smoke chamber, the latter terminating in a large brick chimney. This



Ruins of Boiling-Down Works at Boydtown.

smoke-stack stood some thirty feet high. Rusty iron bars indicate fire-bars; pieces of curved brickwork show the position of the many iron pots into which the minced carcasses of cattle or sheep were thrown, the boiling-down process resulting in the recovery of tallow.

In order to more fully appreciate the need for such a large plant for the rendering of beef and mutton for tallow, something of the economic aspect of the period will be interesting.

In the forties of last century—Benjamin Boyd's active period—the affairs of the colony were in a distressed condition. At this period Australia was practically a pastoral country—almost purely wool-growing. In 1842 there were thirty sheep to each inhabitant of the colony; 1850 saw fifty sheep to each inhabitant. The wool industry progressed during those eight years, but it was also a period of difficulty in financial directions. Station properties were offered for sale, and in several instances the actual transactions were based upon the current value of the livestock, the actual title to the station and the buildings erected thereon being considered as of no value. Thus a typical instance—an advertisement of 1846: "400 head of superior bred cattle with station for sale by auction." Another was offered in this manner: "1600 head of superior bred cattle with station at Snowy River; good verandah cottage, with garden and kitchen-garden; three paddocks well fenced, two huts, woolshed or barn, new stockyard and two stock-horses." The station and cattle were sold for the figure bid on the cattle alone. Many other cases might be quoted. But, of course,

not all station-owners were so heavily hit by the depression. The bigger men were able to stand against the difficulties; yet it affected every cattle and wool-man. Values for cattle and sheep reached a low level—so much so that owners seriously considered the alternative of converting their stock into tallow. Boyd had not been twelve months in the colony before he had acquired control of extensive station areas, and was therefore interested in the market conditions. Finding that values for livestock were steadily falling, he, too, gave serious consideration to rendering for tallow. In evidence before a Select Committee in 1843 (towards the end of that year), Boyd stated that he had “boiled down” two thousand sheep which had been intended for shipment to Hobart. The result in tallow had averaged about twelve pounds per carcase. This gave a better return than he would have secured had he shipped the sheep as previously intended. Thus, further drafts of sheep and cattle were converted into tallow. Hitherto, there being several establishments throughout the colony for the rendering of carcases, the work was carried out for Boyd under contract, and in like manner for other owners. Deciding to add this branch of industry to his enterprises, and, naturally, realising the excellent advantages offered by his port at Twofold Bay, he gave instructions for the provision of a “boiling-down” establishment. But, like all Boyd’s undertakings, something spectacular must be built; it must be in keeping with the generally impressive style of the buildings at Boydtown. The result can be well imagined if consideration be given to the extent of the ruins of Benjamin Boyd’s boiling-down establishment. It is open to serious doubt as to whether the establishment was completed many months before the settlement began to decline. Certainly, a few tons of tallow were extracted here and shipped overseas, but in the year of Benjamin Boyd’s retirement, records show that the boiling-down works were nearing completion. Two years later the plant was leased for the operation, but the opportunity for its active use had passed and no overseas shipments were made from Boydtown after 1848.

To the average visitor this section of the Boyd undertakings is unknown—certainly few visitors have heard of the extensive buildings which were erected here.

Leaving this intensely interesting area and retracing one’s steps to the road, a pathway will be found leading up the ridge to the right. A motor vehicle may be driven the full extent of this pathway.

On the morning of the 30th of August, 1844 (a Friday), Benjamin Boyd was strolling round the area encircling the settlement, which by that time was beginning to take some definite shape. Boyd was upon one of his infrequent visits to Twofold Bay. With him this morning were two of his officers, upon whom lay the responsibility for designing the various buildings. Reaching the

heights of the ridge backing the settlement (the point upon which the visitor of to-day views the ruined church), Boyd remarked upon the beautiful and extensive view which was presented from this point. Conversation centered upon the site and its outlook. A few minutes later Boyd remarked upon the possibility of erecting some sort of a church for the convenience of the settlement. Immediately one of his companions suggested, "Why not build your church here, Mr. Boyd?" Back came the decision, "We will build the priory here." So came the idea, then the decision, followed by instructions to proceed with the building operations.

Benjamin Boyd was evidently in a constructive frame of mind upon that occasion, for it appears that instructions were given during the day for the construction not only of the priory, but a jetty, or wharf, to give berthing facilities for shipping; several wells to be sunk and then lined with brick and domed over in the true rural English style; purchase and suitable equipment of a hulk for the purposes of shipping refitment; and the provision of certain paddocks for cattle and sheepfolds.



Ruined Church at Boydtown, Twofold Bay.

Late in September, 1844, drawings and scale-plans of the proposed church were submitted to Boyd at his Sydney office, and instructions for the actual work were issued next month. During the following four years work was carried out upon the building, but owing to the many other important buildings in progress, no continued effort was concentrated upon the church until 1847. During the following twelve months the building was erected; but, though the walls were erected, the roof shingled, and some finishing work done upon the wooden arches of the interior of the roof, the church never reached a state of completion. Its floor was cer-

tainly laid, but incomplete. No seating accommodation was fitted—no pews ever held worshippers. The fine belfry was incomplete. No bells tolled therein for the passing of a life, neither was there any call to worshippers to assemble herein.

The ruined remains of this noble building are sufficient in themselves to suggest something of the impressive nature of the design. The site chosen was one which had much to recommend it: it was an unrivalled position for such a building, and in keeping with the religious atmosphere which necessarily surrounds a place of worship.

It needs but the simplest stretch of imagination in order to visualise to-day the probable scene of the late 'forties, assuming the church to have reached a state of completion and fitted for its divine purpose. The hour might possibly have been that approaching morning devotions. The day bright and sunny. On all sides nature exposing her bounty by means of wealth of foliage and flowers. A sky but faintly touched or flecked here and there with clouds. The rich tones of a bell hung high in the belfry tower, calling in its joyous chimes the people of the settlement to worship. Sedately along the gentle rise towards the church come the elders of the congregation, the men dressed in their best, their ruffled shirt-fronts, their high hats and their narrow-legged nether garments. Quite a gallant show these gentlemen made in their Sunday best. With finger-tips upon the left arm of their husbands, with all the flowing draperies of the period, not forgetting the ample skirts well arranged over the crinoline, the merest hint of white-stockinged ankles peeping occasionally as the sedate footsteps brought their owner nearer and nearer to the Sabbath morning rendezvous. Salutations exchanged in degrees of enthusiasm according to the extent of friendship existing between each party, as all made decorous steps towards the common goal. And now, as the worshippers pause for a few moments outside the church, the pastor appears in welcoming mein. A handshake here, a bow there, a few words spoken to that couple, a smile to others—and then the people file into the building. A pew situated midway along the aisle bears a card indicating that sittings have been reserved for the commanding-looking gentleman who with his wife and two children are now seating themselves therein. On the opposite side of the aisle is a pew noted as Mr. Benjamin Boyd's—but Mr. Boyd is not present on this occasion; in fact it is but a rare occasion when he visits Twofold Bay—he has important interests in Sydney and in Port Phillip settlement.

And so on, throughout the entire population of the settlement of Boyd, pews are noted as provided for the seating accommodation of each family—that is, so far as those of this particular faith are concerned.

The rich tones of the organ begin to swell as their echoing quietens the twittering birds in the neighbouring trees. The de-

votions have begun. Through its course, led by the pastor, the various stages of the service are followed by the devout congregation ; and then, after the good man's eloquent appeal to his listeners and the freewill offerings have been collected by one of the more important of the gentlemen, seats are vacated, and outside, under the noonday sun, the worshippers gather in small groups to discuss the sermon or to recall some matter of importance to a friend's mind. The pastor, having divested himself of his surplice, makes his appearance amongst his congregation, and, after suitable farewells and casual remarks, the whole company turn their steps to the return walk to their individual homes. Sedately along the beautifully shaded pathway the fifty or more people make their way. Children, grown somewhat exuberant after the restraint of the church interior, show signs of their growing appetites ; all are making their way homewards, and, incidentally, anticipating the pleasure of the mid-day repast.

Behind the church, less than fifty yards away, is a headstone betokening a burial. Actually there are two graves—side by side. The inscription upon the only headstone tells of the friendship between two men. Both persons mentioned on this headstone reached Australia under restraint. The magnitude of their respective misdeeds does not concern others ; yet it may be of interest to learn that free pardons were granted to both men, though one failed to live long enough to appreciate the much-delayed sign of justice.

Richard Bell's headstone is possibly one of the very few memorials which exist to-day marking the last resting-place of a convict in New South Wales—at least one of the few memorials to convicts. James McAuliffe's pardon came into his possession during his life, Richard Bell's pardon came after death.

Both men saw service under the "ticket-of-leave" system at Boydtown, McAuliffe being engaged during one whaling season as "pulling hand" in one of Boyd's whaleboats. Richard Bell saw service under Boyd as a general labourer. As the inscription indicates, Bell died in 1847, during Benjamin Boyd's period. McAuliffe was transferred under the ticket-of-leave system from Boyd's service to a subsequent lessee of Boydtown, but there is nothing to show where McAuliffe was interred after his death. The grave indicated at the side of Bell's grave has not been identified.

Three or four other interments have taken place nearby, but the actual sites and the names of the dead are forgotten.

These are not the only graves at Boydtown, though the position of others can now only be suggested as in a locality. The first recorded death which took place at Boydtown of a European was that of an elderly man named McNiven, which took place on the 12th of September, 1843. McNiven was buried on the flat, not far from the foot of the hill below the church. During the fol-

lowing years to 1848, several deaths occurred and burials were made in the same locality.

In connection with the Church, it may be interesting to note that Bishop Broughton, the first and only Bishop of Australasia, paid an official visit to Boydtown in December, 1843, and, on being shown the site of the proposed church, requested one of the prominent officials of the settlement to keep him well posted as to the progress of the building and of the settlement. During Bishop Broughton's stay at Boydtown he christened several of the children. An actual baptism was celebrated within the church in 1849 or early 1850, but this was done in order to satisfy a keen desire to perpetuate a family memory. Many years later (about 1896) a service was held in the ruined building, but solely in order that the fact of its sacred use might be attained.

At the foot of the hill upon which the church ruins stand, on the western slope, may be found the remains of a brick kiln. It was here that many of the bricks used in the construction of the church and the boiling-down works were burned. The principal brick-kilns were, as previously mentioned, situated on the southern side of the creek.

This completes the description of the buildings which were included in the settlement scheme and which were actually begun. Other important buildings were contemplated, and had Benjamin Boyd reached the objective towards which he strove, it is probable that the area may have been dotted with buildings and its population have reached many hundreds. According to records, it would appear that at one period its actual population reached over four hundred, but the area included reached somewhat afar.

Other ruins remain to indicate something of Boyd's activities, though these are not so easy of access as those just described.

At the end of the long ridge forming the southern shore of South Bay—the bay fronting the settlement of Boydtown—a beacon was constructed at Boyd's direction. A large tree was selected which reared its head high upon the extremity of this headland, the branches were cut off, likewise its head, leaving the tall, straight, broad trunk standing. Round this tree-trunk poles of about six inches in diameter and twenty feet in length were braced perpendicularly to the tree, and securely fastened by means of heavy iron bands. The wooden section was painted white, the iron bands black, thus forming a distinctive structure visible for many miles to sea. Upon the summit of this a lantern was provided. Thus a beacon by day and night stood boldly out upon the hill-top to mark the proximity of the settlement of Boyd, and a leading mark for shipping seeking entrance to the port. A visitor to Boydtown in 1844 remarked upon the connection between this beacon and the yacht "Wanderer," which lay at anchor under the shelter of the hill. Subsequently the beacon was styled "The Wanderer's

Tower." Unfortunately no trace remains to indicate its position, but some fair idea may be gathered by scaling the hill and gazing upon the wonderful scene unfolded from this point.

If the seashore is followed from this hill-top to the low bluff at the western end of the long beach, behind which is the back-water of the Kiah River, a point of interest may be examined.

Upon the summit of this bluff a cottage was erected during Boyd's period. Generally, this cottage was known to Twofold Bay resident as "Moutry's Cottage," and is said to have been the residence of Boyd's overseer during Boyd's activities. The story of Moutry's residence has never before been properly told—it is now given, condensed through lack of space in this book.

The brickwork may be seen indicating the site of the building, and from this may be gained some impression as to its size and the commanding views which were obtained from the locality.

Mr. William Stuart Moutry was engaged in Sydney by Benjamin Boyd to proceed to Boydtown and assume the superintendency of the various works being carried out at the settlement, and to generally watch his employer's interests in that quarter. He had no instructions as to the activity in whaling or in the building of the lighthouse on the southern headland. Mr. Moutry appears to have much over-estimated his area of authority, for difficulties arose with another two officers as to the two sections of Boyd's interests. Arriving at the settlement in April, 1847, Moutry lost no time before he chose a site for the erection of a residence. Just how far Boyd was taken into consideration by the selection of this bluff for the overseer's residence is difficult to imagine, for the very position seems to raise a serious objection: there could be no speedy connection with Boydtown; the site was far removed from the centre of his area of authority—even access by water was practically impossible. Moutry began operations here, and soon the foundations of his residence were excavated and lined with brickwork. It is unfortunate that the available pictures of the building were made when ruin had gone far to destroy it.



Ruined Cottage at Moultry's, Twofold Bay.

The illustration gives some idea of the cottage. According to records, it would appear as though there were at least four rooms on the ground floor, with an attic room, and the kitchen and conveniences of the period in the basement. The roof was shingled, the walls plastered, likewise the ceiling. Dotted upon the slope of the hill, upon the landward side, were four other buildings; these might be mentioned

as connected with the overseer's house, inasmuch as two housed servants attached to his household, one was an octagonally designed fowlhouse, and the fourth a sort of summer-house. Undoubtedly Mr. Moultry planned for his comfort, and the site gave him a unique outlook for a seaside residence.

The actual building of this collection of houses created quite a deal of comment and criticism. Originally authorised to build for his residence a structure of slab walls, common to the period, Moutry refused to entertain such a primitive affair, and ordered his workmen to build in a much more pretentious manner. It is on record that about fifty thousand bricks were used in buildings here and in lining two wells, thousands of feet of sawn timber and much interior decorative materials. To cover the expenditure thus involved, other portions of the Boydtown businesses were debited with costs which were really incurred at the residence. In order to provide easy access to the residence from Boydtown a road was constructed—the general line of that road may be found to-day, and a portion of it travelled by car. Much unnecessary expenditure was entailed in this roadwork, and the fact gave rise to severe criticism.

Undoubtedly the site chosen for Moutry's residence was one of the finest surrounding Twofold Bay, its contrasting views being unique ; but how far it could be recommended for the real purpose of a superintendent's residence is very doubtful. The intervening high ridge of hill completely shut it off from the township.

The remaining points of interest connected with Benjamin Boyd's enterprises at Twofold Bay are rather inaccessible to the average visitor. If, however, an opportunity arises, a visit may be made to East Boyd and to South Head. A launch is necessary in either case ; an alternative is a motor journey of many miles and through a forest reservation and pine plantation, with some further distance to be travelled on foot. However, a description seems to be necessary in order that Boyd's activities be completely detailed.

Looking back to the southwest from the bluff at Moultry's, a large red-tiled roof may be seen rising upon the grassy slopes of the inlet. (The headland at the end of the long beach and about midway from Moultry's to East Boyd, shelters another interesting spot, but one which is not connected with Benjamin Boyd—Davidson's whaling station). Immediately in front of the large



"Merton," East Boyd, Twofold Bay.

house, with its red-tiled roof, is a lawn of fine grass. Here was a cottage, and one of particular interest in connection with Boyd. Beyond the short beach at the left of the house stood the incidental buildings for extracting the whale-oil and stripping of whale-bone (balena) ; whilst from the rocks at the waterfront a small wharf was built. Boyd's shore whaling crews operated from here. This activity dated from 1843 to 1848, as far as Boyd was concerned. The cottage upon the hill was built for the residence of the superintendent of the whaling operations—Oswald Walters Brierly (later knighted). Mr. Brierly accompanied Benjamin Boyd from England in the yacht "Wanderer," and was for a lengthy period superintendent of all operations at Twofold Bay for Boyd. His area of authority was reduced as the whaling activities became more important, the duties at Boydtown being entrusted to a sequence of officers.

The cottage at East Boyd was known in Boyd's period as "Merton," being so named in deference to the country seat in Scotland, "Merton Hall," from which Boyd migrated to the colony. The fine mulberry trees on the edge of the hill-slope were planted during Mr. Brierly's time, as also were the pear-trees. Upon the flat land immediately behind the beach several wells were sunk and brick-lined. During many years these wells provided a bounteous supply of good water both for human consumption ashore and for vessels going to sea.

This section of Boyd's holding passed into various owners' hands, and the present holder found it necessary to destroy "Merton" when having his residence erected. Being private property, access for visitors is naturally restricted.

The story of Boyd's whaling activities is given in a separate section of this book.

Situated upon the extremity of the long headland which forms the southern shore of Twofold Bay is a high stone tower. This tower was built of sandstone quarried at Pymont (Sydney), shipped to the Bay and then carted by bullock waggons to its site. Commenced in 1846, it was never completed, though the actual tower walls and top stonework reached finality. During a thunderstorm many years later, lightning struck the tower and a few of the top stones on the western corner were dislodged. The builder was a Mr. Helmrich, the designer being Mr. Brierly.

In 1847, upon the occasion of an official visit to Twofold Bay by Captain Owen Stanley, an inspection was made of the tower and its site with a view to reporting upon the advisability or otherwise of installing a light for the requirements of shipping.

Boyd intended the tower as a lighthouse, but lighthouses may not be lit without express sanction of the Crown. At the time of Captain Stanley's visit it was recorded that Boyd would willingly have given the tower into the custody of the Government for use as a leading light, but the report was to the contrary. The tower is massively built and quite unique in its design. Deeply chiselled into the stones forming the top of the tower, on each of its four sides, the name "BOYD" stands out prominently. Its four windows on each side relieve the monotony of stonework, whilst the embattled finish gives it an air of distinguished dignity. A wooden stairway once gave access to the highest portion of the tower, but the ravages of time have destroyed the woodwork.

In order to establish the actual fact of the use of this tower as a lighthouse, Boyd gave instructions to Brierly to exhibit a light therein. On the 3rd of October, 1847, instructions were received by Brierly and briefly the incident is noted: "21st October, 1847, lighthouse lit for the first time. Had a large sort of three-sided lantern made and lighted, and watched all night." "Friday, 22nd October, 1847: Light again lighted at lighthouse." During recent years a visiting party of yachtsmen, ignorant of the actual fact of the first lighting of the tower, determined to pioneer the light.



Boyd's Tower at South Head, Twofold Bay.

A light was exhibited, and, as a direct result, the party learned from an official quarter that the action required explanation. An added point was that the actual lighthouse tower and land is privately owned. However, Benjamin Boyd's plan for the provision of a lighthouse was destined to failure, and, like so many of his undertakings, uncompleted.

Access to this headland is best gained by boat to East Boyd, and thence by a pathway to the tower; being private property, it is but a courtesy to seek permission prior to making the visit.

In connection with the ruined remains of buildings forming integral parts of Boyd's enterprises at Twofold Bay, it is worthy of note that these are the only historical ruins in the south-eastern section of Australia. Benjamin Boyd's connection with the affairs of New South Wales during the 'forties, his seat in the Legislative Council as a Member for Port Phillip, and the intense interest which has always surrounded the man, surely suggest that that fine stone tower at South Head should be acquired as a national memorial.



LAND INTERESTS AND LABOUR PROBLEMS.

PROBABLY the most important phase of Benjamin Boyd's interests in Australia was that of his pastoral activities. Boyd operated during a period in the colony's development when wool steadily rose in importance. "The whole colony was arranged for the convenience of the wool-grower; towns were planted as far up coastal rivers as ships could go to fetch away his wool; smaller inland townships sprang up at river-crossings where his teams camped on their way to market, or at natural centres serving a dozen stations with the simpler necessities of life"—thus does the late Arthur W. Jose put the position in his "History of Australia."

Operating with the unique advantage of a bank's capital at his disposal, the added advantage of a network of commercial enterprises owned by him and which he was able to use in conjunction with his position as resident director of the bank, Benjamin Boyd very quickly became the controller of a vast area of pastoral country. Just how far his methods might be admitted as in keeping with the dictates of business may be open to discussion, but the fact remains that Boyd secured control of large areas, and in surprisingly speedy ways. By 1845, according to official records of the Legislature, he had an active interest in over half a million acres on the Monaro Plateau (including the Murrumbidgee headwaters locality), and close on two million acres in the Riverina district. These stations were important—the actual list is far too lengthy to include here—for upon them grazed no less than one hundred and sixty thousand-odd sheep and ten thousand cattle. The figures are staggering, and more particularly so when the period of his operations is taken into consideration.

The control of such a large section of the pastoral lands of the colony necessarily carried with it responsibilities. Each property entailed a group of employees for its operation. That question alone required serious consideration. Not only did the labour problem entail serious consideration, but the incidental matters connected with obligations of the owner as related to adjoining holdings necessitated special consideration. The various decrees of the Legislature and of the Governors of the colony from time to time varied the property holder's liberties. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Boyd soon became chairman of a very powerful organization—the Pastoral Association. When Sir George Gipps, in an effort to provide a solution of the difficulties of land tenure, framed regulations which gave rise to extremely sharp differences of opinion as between the Governor and the pastoralists (the latter being mainly members of the Legislative Council), a serious change

in control of land was introduced. The Land Regulations of 1844 provided that from henceforth each and every "run" was to be separately licensed at a fee of ten pounds per annum. Hitherto the majority of the large holdings were held under a "depasturing license," and, as an instance of the possibilities under that method, reference might be made to the fact that one squatter, for nearly four hundred thousand acres, paid eighty pounds a year; four of the large landholders paid no more for nearly eight million acres than four others did for one-twentieth of that area. The alteration meant more than was at first realised. Discussion amongst the squatters soon led to organized opposition to the new regulations, and finally the very powerful Pastoral Association decided to lodge a definite objection to the regulations before the Home Government. A representative of the association was deputed to journey to England for that purpose. The proceedings of the period are to be read on reference to the newspapers of the day if further light is desired. The gentleman appointed as the Pastoral Association's representative was Mr. Archibald Boyd, a large landholder from the northern section of the grazing area of the colony. Unfortunately an error has crept into many of the officially recognized accounts of this deputation and Benjamin Boyd has been stated as being the appointee. Benjamin Boyd did not leave the colony until 1849, when he sailed for California.

The deputation to England failed in its objective, yet much advantage was gained, and in recognition of Mr. Archibald Boyd's work in England, meetings were held at Singleton and Penrith, resulting in a public dinner being accorded him on his return.

The foregoing serves to suggest the importance of the various efforts to control the usage of the pastoral areas of the colony.

Benjamin Boyd was the holder of the large area which returned to the Crown only eighty pounds per annum; had this area been held under the "quit rent system" of Darling's period, then Boyd would have paid to the Crown not far short of three thousand pounds per annum.

Turning from the point of revenues connected with Boyd's land holding, it will be interesting to follow something of the country embraced in the areas controlled. In 1842 Colac was taken over from Mr. Augustus Morris by Boyd on account of the Royal Bank of Australia. Mr. Morris then undertook to form stations for Boyd on the northern bank of the Murray, and also on the southern bank. Deneliquin was taken up as a head station—700,000 acres.

The control then moved down the Lower Edward River to Moulamein and back to the Billabong and south to the Neimar River. Murray Downs and Poon Boon were added to the list. Incidentally it was Mr. Morris who first appreciated the value of the saltbush country as the most healthy pasturage. The idea was ridiculed at first, but soon results convinced the most obtuse critic.

In the Wellington district, one hundred and fifty thousand acres were taken up ; on the Lachlan River, Condobolin became part of the holdings, likewise Gulgo. The Wimmera district saw Boyd's activity in the station then known as the Grampians. In the Portland district the control was evidenced in Burrambeet Station.

On the Monaro Plateau and the adjacent Murrumbidgee district Boyd gradually asserted his control. Cambalong, with Slaughter House Creek and Mount Cooper, represented sixty thousand acres, whilst Matong, Gemnong, and Bibbenluke, with several other well-known stations, helped to swell the total until the half-million acres was reached, and grazing upon the stations were vast flocks and herds.

The important matter of control of these several holdings, spread over the colony, necessitated careful selection not only of the immediate overseers but of the labourers. Here a difficult subject was touched upon—one common to all employers throughout the colony. The supply of employees was by no means adequate, neither was it of such a character as permitted the selection of most fitted employees. "Station hands" covered quite a wide margin and various occupations were involved. Unfortunately would-be station hands were vastly ignorant of the duties involved, and much trouble arose in consequence.

The subject of Boyd's labour supplies is a large one, and to discuss it thoroughly here would require too great a space ; in order that a superficial idea may be gained, however, something will be mentioned.

There were, at the time, two sources of labour supply open to employers in New South Wales : those men and women who had been introduced to the colony under the penal code, and those who were arriving under various forms of immigration. The former were to be had under special arrangements whereby their sentences might be completed whilst earning some monetary return for their industry ; the latter, reaching the colony in the hope of bettering their condition and improving their monetary position, had nothing of the restraint which the former class were necessarily hampered by. But unfortunately, so mixed were the emigrants that it became really a matter of serious consideration as to which class might be the better. Certainly, in this broad statement there is no wish to adversely criticise the majority of immigrants—it is always the undesirable few which brand the desirable majority with a general title.

Another difficulty attached to many of the immigrants lay in the fact that many new arrivals were not inclined to take kindly to the conditions of rural occupation : some occupation within the confines of a township, preferably in Sydney or Melbourne, was more to their tastes. Consequently, a proportion of the newly-arrived colonists refused employment which might have really been

beneficial to them, their choice resulting in much disappointment, not only to them individually, but to their friends in the homeland and who were prospective emigrants.

Benjamin Boyd was naturally keenly interested in the matter of suitable employees—his vast holdings necessitated a large number of servants, both indoor and outdoor. He quickly realised that in the colony were not only those who sought positions but also those who had, by lack of sufficient capital, been unable to acquire a business; and, lastly, those who were definitely undesirable and lazy.

Giving evidence upon the subject of immigration, Boyd not only gave details of his own efforts towards securing suitable employees, but advanced theories as to a possible solution of the problem. At a later opportunity he framed a suggestion and placed it before the Governor. Extracts from his evidence and from his suggestions will serve to make the subject more familiar to present-day readers.

I have resided in the colony for nearly eighteen months, and have upwards of two hundred shepherds and stockmen employed, exclusive of operatives sent to Twofold Bay. I had no difficulty in engaging men, but a great deal in getting them to go when engaged. If I give them money for the expenses on the road it is immediately spent in Sydney public houses, and, on the other hand, if they undertake to find their way to the interior at their own expense, a very small proportion of them ever reach their destination, as the offer of an extra pound of wages from another party will always induce them to break their engagement. I have found less difficulty in forwarding men to Menaroo, as by means of the steamer I can always ensure their getting as far as Twofold Bay, but I regret to say that there also higher wages offered by others prevented many from reaching my stations. Knowing that labour was so much wanted in the interior, and finding that the distress in Sydney was disposing many to migrate to South America, I was induced to make an effort to save, if possible, a portion of their labour to the colony, which originally cost so much, and directed the following advertisement to be inserted in the newspapers:—"To the labouring classes unemployed: Free passages to Twofold Bay and rations will be given for one hundred persons, consisting of shepherds, stockmen, shearers, artisans, labourers, etc., who may wish to secure employment in the Maneroo District, where labour is in demand; the distance from Twofold Bay to Maneroo is forty-five miles. On the arrival of the vessel each person will be provided with 10 lbs. of flour, 10 lbs. of meat, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of tea, 2 lbs. of sugar, to enable him to proceed to the interior. Apply to No. 2, Church Hill. The vessel will sail from Milne's Wharf on Monday next, the 11th inst., at twelve o'clock, and all persons going by her must have their clearances on Saturday from the Water Police." The result of this was, the first day the advertisement appeared upwards of one hundred individuals engaged to avail themselves of the opportunity, and at least four or five hundred more were necessarily refused. On the Monday following, the "Velocity" sailed for Twofold Bay with those engaged, consisting of carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, bricklayers, stonemasons, brickmakers, shinglers, labourers, stockmen, shepherds, etc., none of whom were under engagement to me. After a pleasant passage, during which they had all conducted themselves exceedingly well, they reached Twofold Bay.

Further extracts from the evidence describe the proceedings upon arrival of the shipload of labourers at Twofold Bay. Upon landing they were served with the rations as arranged, and, after being impressed as to the advisability to proceed as quickly as possible to the tableland to procure work before their rations were consumed, a district blackfellow was engaged to lead the party. A blue shirt was given to the blackfellow as payment for his guidance. A married couple secured a position at Eden. But few of the party reached the Maneroo stations—offers of employment on the road from landholders, or at one of the settlements on the road, were quickly accepted. Thus, according to Boyd's statement, he provided the means for unemployed to secure work upon stations under his control, yet other owners reaped the opportunity to engage workmen.

The position was much more difficult with the interior ; there were no opportunities for travel exclusive to Boyd, and thus many more opportunities for employment along the road were open to those whom he despatched westward.

Forced to examine all avenues for the supply of necessary labour, he turned to the "ticket-of-leave" convicts, and the convict. His opinion of these classes is summed up in evidence given by him later :—

I have invariably remarked that the convict servants who had originally been sent into the interior from the ship without passing through Hyde Park Barracks or a road party, with very few exceptions, turned out to be well conducted and efficient servants ; whereas those who had gone through the ordeal of what is called "prison discipline" were certainly very far inferior to the others ; but even the latter class, in their altered situation, gradually improved, although they had much to unlearn. I regret to say that even those are, in my opinion, generally more useful than the immigrants who have been from time to time sent out of this colony ; and as I employ upwards of eight hundred people, I possess a good opportunity of forming an opinion on this point. I can only add that I should greatly prefer "ticket-of-leave" holders, unless the future selections of emigrants are of a character different to what we have been accustomed to.

Discussing at a later stage the comparative merits of two classes of labourers, he said :—

I would recommend that not one of these men (first offenders or exiles from England) should be landed at Sydney or Melbourne, but that the ships should disembark them at Portland Bay, Twofold Bay, and Moreton Bay, thus avoiding the contamination of the large towns, where idleness and profligacy prevail and former habits would be renewed. I believe there is no employer of labour in the country who would not prefer the ticket-of-leave man to a "bounty" emigrant. For my own part, although I came out here at first with all my English prejudices against the prisoner class, I now, from experience, prefer them so decidedly that I have at this moment but few emigrants in my employ.

Two years later, still keenly interested in the problem of securing satisfactory labour, he addressed a letter to the Governor making suggestions as to the unemployed time-expired convicts

or Tasmania. He suggested that the ten thousand men who then held tickets-of-leave, and which boon in Tasmania was useless to them, might be granted pardons conditionally upon them proceeding to and residing in New South Wales. By such migration they would be able to seek employment in the vast and practical fields of labour as a true means to making their way as honest and useful members of the community. He contended that the pastoral districts could immediately employ ten thousand additional hands, and, so far from these men being likely to exceed the present requirements, if shipped in proportionate drafts and disembarked at various points on the coast other than Port Phillip or Port Jackson, would form a supply of labour which would fall far short of the actual demands. He believed that the amount of labour which could be employed was incalculable : " . . . A country destined to support millions has at present only 200,000 inhabitants ; and we only require population, with sufficient capital to work it, to develop a field of enterprise scarcely contemplated."

How true Benjamin Boyd's declaration was, can be readily appreciated to-day—the position as he puts it still applies.

Boyd's suggestion failed to appeal to the authorities ; the urgent need for labourers in the pastoral fields was far from satisfied. He then turned to a fresh field and believed, probably, that one of his earlier schemes might be put into practice in a modified manner. An experiment would be made by introducing a shipload of native men from one or other of the Pacific Islands. To put his thoughts into a tangible form of action needed but the issue of instructions. The ship "Velocity" was put into commission and ordered away to the South Seas, sailing early in 1847.

It has been stated by more than one writer of former years that Benjamin Boyd's action in introducing native labourers from the Pacific Islands and placing them on stations in the interior was in reality an active form of slavery. The suggestion was actually discussed in the Legislative Council—the full account of that memorable discussion may be read by perusing the files of the newspapers of the day.

A somewhat cynical reference to Boyd's experiment is contained in a Sydney journal, and runs in this manner :—

Boyd foresaw that whilst grass was growing the flocks and herds would be starving (forasmuch as some two years of necessity must elapse before any Government plan for the sufficient supply of European labour could be matured) ; he determined to set about importing his own labourers, and whilst the rest of the colonists were angrily debating and proposing impossible schemes, the good ship "Velocity" was put under orders and sailed on her important mission. An account we have received of the miserable destitution of these poor islanders, and the horrible straits to which they are reduced, ought to be seriously considered by a Christian community who are compelled to boil down their flocks and herds because they have not labour enough to feed them. We want labour—these poor

creatures want food ; they are within a few weeks' sail from our shores, and it seems a disposition of Providence that the labour required by this vast continent should be taken from the over-peopled islands with which the sea that washes our coast is studded. Migration of these people will be the surest means of Christianizing them, and if we would for ever abolish the dreadful crimes of cannibalism and infanticide, it is to be achieved by following up the philanthropic design which Mr. Boyd has opened.

The philanthropic aspect of the subject need hardly be given a second thought—the immediately important consideration could only have been that of securing a supply of labourers and at the cheapest possible rate.

No less than three voyages were made at Boyd's instigation, upwards of two hundred natives of Tanna, Lafou, Anatum and other adjacent Pacific Isles brought to the colony and distributed over the pastoral districts. The experiment proved to be a ghastly failure. The natives were quite unfitted either for the work or for existence in the interior and under the conditions prevailing. Odd numbers did turn out to be useful to a minor degree ; some deserted and found their way to Sydney, where they created quite a furore of excitement by their wild and savage appearance. A few—a very few—managed to find a friendly vessel by which means they were able to return to their native islands.

One feature of the method adopted by Boyd in securing these natives is worth noting here. Upon reaching a verbal arrangement with the chief or headman of the village whereat the natives were to be taken on board the recruiting vessel, each and every man was formally requested to attach some manual indication to an agreement binding him to service under Boyd. The text was :—

I....., native of.....in the Pacific Ocean, have this day agreed with.....(Captain of the vessel)..... on the part of Benjamin Boyd, of the City of Sydney, New South Wales, to serve the said Benjamin Boyd in the capacity of Seaman in any of his ships, or as a Shepherd, or other Labourer in any part of the colony of New South Wales, and to make myself generally useful for the term of two years.

Upon the arrival of the recruiting vessel in the colony, these agreements were again drawn up and signed by both parties.

Commenting upon the natives and the proceedings on the arrival of one batch at Twofold Bay, the following is an interesting extract :—

Went on board, accompanied by the Clerk of the Bench at Eden. None of the natives could speak English, and all were naked, the hair of many being dressed in an extraordinary manner. They all crowded round, looking at us with the utmost surprise, and feeling the texture of our clothes with their fingers. The captain said that at first he had some difficulty in keeping the men of the different islands from fighting. They seemed wild and restless. We sat down and re-copied their agreements, which they all signed.

Two or three days later all the natives were started off for Maneroo ; some of them, after they had started, bolted and came back to Boydtown.

What methods Boyd may have seriously considered in order to secure the type of labourers which he desired for his various undertakings may not even be imagined. His actions indicate that he was prepared to give almost any scheme a definite trial. It was perhaps fortunate that Benjamin Boyd was now rapidly approaching the time of his dismissal from active control of the Royal Bank of Australia's affairs in the colony. The experiment in labour fields with Pacific Islanders was made during 1847—the opening of 1848 seeing Benjamin Boyd superceded by William Sprott Boyd, in the control of the Bank, though Benjamin still had active interests in various parts of the colony and at Boydtown until later in 1848.

One feature remains to be mentioned in connection with Benjamin Boyd's activity in the labour problem. It will be remembered that in suggesting the time-expired convicts of Tasmania be brought to New South Wales and landed in batches at ports other than Port Jackson and Port Phillip, Boyd had touched upon an entirely new idea as to ports of disembarkation for new arrivals. This formed the basis for another plan for the introduction of useful people into the colony.

In 1846 Boyd, with others, became interested in a movement which had for its objective the introduction of a particular class of migrants to the colony of New South Wales from England. The association was known as the Colonization Society. The society's activity was in the hands of a number of prominent London men, included with whom were Mark Boyd and Edward Lennox Boyd (Benjamin's brothers in London), and their father. Meetings were held throughout the counties, whereat exhortations to join the different parties which were being formed for migration to New South Wales formed the principal theme of the various speakers. Recruits were found, and, without question, the society did much towards assisting desirable people to try their fortunes in the new land. Advertisements appeared in the Home newspapers calling for persons desirous of migrating to the colony, and suggesting that opportunities be provided for disembarkation at ports other than Port Phillip and Port Jackson. It is, without question, rather to be regretted that Benjamin Boyd did not remain in control, or even remain in the colony, long enough to see the actual realization of this scheme.

It was not until 1848 that the public announcement was made concerning the first immigrant ship destined to land her people in Twofold Bay. A notice in the "Government Gazette" of November 15, 1848, from the Colonial Secretary's Office, set out that the ship "Bermondsey" was to have sailed from Plymouth about the 31st of August, with emigrants, direct for Twofold Bay, and settlers of Monaro district were invited to make arrangements

for hiring them at that place and for removing them to their stations. The same day Sydney newspapers announced that another vessel, the "Simon Taylor," was also to sail from Plymouth direct to Twofold Bay with emigrants.

Here was the realization of Benjamin Boyd's idea of utilizing his township and port for disembarkation of immigrants.

The "Bermondsey" arrived at Twofold Bay on the 7th of December, 1848; the "Simon Taylor" was struck off the sailing list for Twofold Bay. The "Bermondsey's" complement consisted of 184 persons, including children. Of this company 111 labourers, with their families, found employment within the districts of Monaro and Twofold Bay, the remainder seeking employment in Sydney and Port Phillip. Passage money amounted to £11/19/6 per adult.

Activities at Boydtown on account of the Royal Bank of Australia and Benjamin Boyd had ceased prior to the arrival of the "Bermondsey," the buildings and shipping conveniences being under lease to a Sydney firm of commission agents, with local representatives in residence. Arrangements had been made with this firm for the victualling of the emigrants who were arriving on the "Bermondsey"; during the period from disembarkation and securing positions the people were housed in the buildings at Boydtown. Thus, though Benjamin Boyd had promulgated the scheme for the introduction of migrants through the port of Twofold Bay and failed to see the scheme realised, yet the buildings which he had caused to be erected and collectively named after him, actually housed the first shipload disembarked at a port in Australia other than Port Jackson or Port Phillip.

Space forbids further discussion of Boyd's land interests and labour problems—much more could be told, and of extreme interest.

SHIPPING INTERESTS.



FEATURING his coastal steamship service proposals when he approached the Home Government, Benjamin Boyd referred to steamers which he proposed using. These have been briefly referred to in another section of this book. It is now proposed to give something of a more definite character and connected with the steam vessels in which Boyd was interested.

The paddle-steamer "Seahorse" was 175 feet in length and of 540 tons burthen, and upon her arrival in Sydney in June, 1841, was suitably described. Having roomy cabins and fittings of most modern type, she was regarded as a very superior vessel. Calling first at Hobart, some celebration was held, and Sir John Franklin (then Governor of Tasmania—later losing his life in Arctic exploration), as the guest of the master of the "Seahorse," made an excursion, during which the steamer proved her speed at twelve miles per hour. Her saloon accommodation was sufficient for no less than seventy persons.

On the 15th of August, 1842, the "Seahorse" was put into actual service, and the newspaper notice is quoted :—

"Seahorse" Steamship.—Steamship communication between Sydney, Van Diemen's Land and Port Phillip. The "Seahorse" will leave Sydney for Port Phillip on Saturday, 17th September, and return from Williamstown, Port Phillip, on Saturday, 24th, calling at George Town, Van Diemen's Land, both going and returning. Further information on application to Boyd & Coy., Unwin's Buildings, Custom House.

The vessel duly sailed as advertised, having on board, under Captain Tallan's care, twenty-seven passengers and a full cargo consisting of sixty tons of coal and merchandise, 600 sheep, nineteen head of cattle, and seven horses. Passengers paid for the voyage to Hobart, £15/15/- saloon, and £6/6/- steerage. Regular voyages were made between these ports and an occasional call made at Twofold Bay, where cattle and sheep were loaded for the southern ports. On the 14th December, having on board a number of passengers, including Boyd and members of the party who had accompanied him from England on the "Wanderer," the "Seahorse" sailed from Sydney for Twofold Bay. During the voyage down the coast slight engine trouble developed, but it was not until arrival at an anchorage off Boydtown (or what was then the area suggested to Boyd for his settlement) that the defect became apparent. One of the pistons having been damaged, it was considered advisable to return to Sydney rather than risk the southern voyage. Boyd and his party elected to remain and explore portion of the country whilst the "Seahorse" steamed back to Sydney for repairs. About the middle of January (1843) the steamer returned to Twofold

Bay and continued thence to Port Phillip and Hobart. As a result of the occasional calls at the bay, the "Seahorse" was definitely advertised in March as to include Twofold Bay as a regular port of call both inward and outward.

The vessel successfully carried out her regular voyages until June, 1843, when misfortune befel her. Leaving Launceston on the 4th June, 1843, she struck a rock in the Tamar and was badly strained. At high tide she floated off and the voyage was resumed towards Sydney. Examination showed that the straining was so serious that the vessel could not be risked in further service at sea. Having £25,000 insurance cover on the vessel, spread over five companies, Boyd decided to initiate litigation with



Paddle Steamer "Seahorse."

a view to securing payment under the policies. Selecting the Royal Exchange Assurance Company as the initial case, lengthy litigation followed. Special surveys were made of the vessel and a commission sent out to Australia to examine witnesses. Going to great lengths to secure evidence in support of his claim, Boyd rather injured his chances of success by giving a dinner party on board the vessel, and entertained thirty-five persons subsequent to their inspections. This fact was made much of by opposing counsel at the hearing in London. A verdict was given at the Guildhall, London, for the defendants; Boyd appealed, but was again defeated.

The "Seahorse" lay at anchorage for many months before any further action was taken to put her to use. In October, 1849, she was put up for sale by auction. Described as of 292 and 52/94ths tons register, built in 1837 for the St. George Steam Packet Coy.,

there appears to have been but little competition at the sale. Bidding started at £500 and reached £850—Mr. Thacker, of Sydney, being the purchaser. Nothing further appears to have been done with the "Seahorse" until January, 1850, when she was moved to Pymont and her boilers taken out, then taken on to the slip for overhaul. In October, 1850, a notice appeared in the newspapers stating that the vessel, now owned by Messrs. Robert Towns & Coy., was just off the slip. Soon after the "Seahorse" became a hulk in use at the patent slip at Darling Harbour.

Boyd's connection with the "Seahorse" was anything but a successful one. The costly litigation, added to her actual loss, must have been a heavy blow to his resources.

The service initiated by the "Seahorse" for Boyd was then taken up by the Hunter River Coy., who, under arrangement with Boyd, sent the steamer "Shamrock" southwards upon the same route. For a time the arrangement was satisfactory, but conflicting interests interfered and the "Shamrock" made Eden township wharf her point of call in Twofold Bay.

Several schooners, brigs and ketches found attractive conditions in the carriage of Boyd's goods, and these, for two years, evidently catered for the requirements of Boydtown.

The "Juno," which reached Sydney in March, 1842, was held in reserve for about five years before being put into service. The description of the "Juno" upon her arrival in Port Jackson is worth extracting from. Quoting from the columns of the newspapers:—

Steamer "Juno."—This elegant vessel arrived safe in port after a very lengthy passage. She is considerably larger than the "Seahorse" and originally belonged to the St. George Steam Packet Company. She is not more than two and a half years old, and is therefore as good as new. Her length is 175 feet, breadth 24 feet between the paddle-boxes, burthen near 700 tons, and her engines, which are 280 horse-power, are by Caird & Coy. Her accommodations below are very superior; she has a splendid saloon, two staterooms and one large gentlemen's cabin, very lofty and roomy, fitted up with fifteen berths, and a ladies' cabin of the same size. On the whole, the "Juno" is the largest and by far the best steamboat that has been sent out to this colony. The inhabitants not only of New South Wales but of the neighbouring colonies are much indebted to Boyd & Coy. for the immense sum of money they must have expended in sending such splendid vessels as the "Seahorse" and "Juno" to this colony, and we trust they will receive such support as will make them as profitable to their owners as they are beneficial to the colonies. We have not heard of the trade in which the "Juno" is to be employed.

It was 1847 before she was put into commission after a trial trip to Twofold Bay in May of that year, during which she proved most satisfactory, doing nine knots and showing capabilities of reaching eleven knots. Next month she made a trip from Twofold Bay to New Zealand, having livestock on board. Upon returning to Sydney she was again overhauled and made a particularly smart run to Boydtown in twenty-four hours.

In October, 1847—evidently a last spectacular gesture on Boyd's part—the "Juno" was advertised as about to initiate a service from Sydney to Adelaide. The proposal was given much publicity and the favourable comment of the news-sheets is worth quoting :—

Extension of Steam Navigation.—The "Juno," the first steam vessel from Sydney to Adelaide, will leave Port Jackson this morning [says the "Sydney Herald" of October 21, 1847]. We consider this most important extension of steam navigation is rendered necessary by the increasing amount of trade between this colony and South Australia. To both colonies it will be of the greatest benefit, and we hope, therefore, that the "Juno" will receive that support which will induce her owners to keep her on the line. To Melbourne as well as Sydney, it will be of considerable advantage to have regular communication by steam with our western neighbours, and to the minor ports westward of Port Phillip it will be an incalculable benefit to be connected with the various settlements between Sydney and Adelaide. The "Juno" has a fair number of passengers for her first trip, but when it becomes certain that she will keep in the trade we have no doubt the number will be increased.

Ere Benjamin Boyd's initial effort with the "Juno" could be compared with the subsequent trips in January and February of 1848, he had ceased to be an authoritative person in the matter. The "Juno" was now under the direction of Sprott Boyd, who maintained her in the service for a few months longer. Sprott Boyd made a request to the Legislative Council of South Australia for monetary assistance as a subsidy for the carriage of mails, but the authorities could not recommend the Governor to agree to the proposal. Withdrawing the "Juno" from service, Sprott Boyd laid her up. In May, 1849, she was offered for sale without success, and then in October was purchased by Mr. H. Moore, of Sydney, for £2,900. In February, 1850, she sailed for China, and thus passed out of Australian records.

The "Cornubia," the third steamer brought out by Benjamin Boyd, arrived in Port Jackson in June, 1842. A paddle-steamer of ninety-four tons, the "Cornubia" was quite a different proposition to the "Seahorse" and "Juno." Boyd seems to have found little use for the vessel, and, like the "Juno," the "Cornubia" lay at anchor in Port Jackson for a lengthy period. Occasional trips to Launceston and Port Phillip, with a few trips between these ports, and later in the Hunter River trade, appears to have been her most active business. She visited Twofold Bay on two occasions.

During the years of Boyd's greatest popularity—1843 to 1845—he entertained many parties on board the "Cornubia" in harbour excursions. On Regatta days the "Cornubia" was much to the fore carrying Boyd's guests to and fro.

Chartered in 1846 by the Government, the "Cornubia" conveyed Colonel Barney and his party to Gladstone, North Australia, in connection with the formation of a settlement. A few trips in the Moreton Bay-Port Curtis trade engaged the vessel for two

months, and then in September, 1847, she was reported as arriving in Port Phillip for repairs. Subsequently, she was offered for sale in Sydney in December, 1848, and purchased by Mr. Thacker for £1,485. In March, 1849, she sailed from Australia for the East.

Thus three steam vessels introduced by Boyd had their individual periods of activity and finally passed out of service, giving but little profit to their owner during the few years of his control.

It is interesting to note, however, that a few years later, during the examination in bankruptcy of Mark Boyd in London, it was revealed that Benjamin Boyd, though nominally the owner of the three steamers, was indebted to the St. George Steam Packet Company for a large sum of money. Incidentally, the St. George Steam Packet Company went into liquidation in 1843.

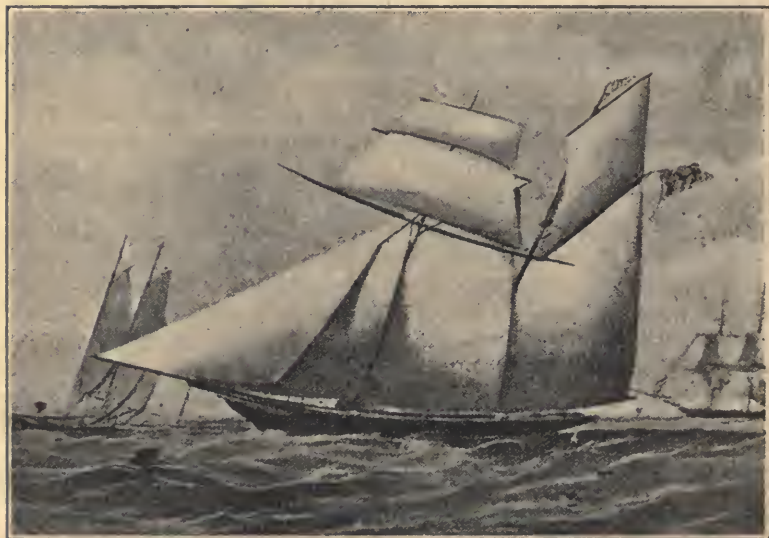
Common to most shipping concerns, a house flag is used to distinguish vessels more readily as between various owners; Benjamin Boyd had his own particular design of flag, and in this he exhibited a unique play upon his own name. Using two honey-bees to represent the initial letters of his name, his flag was of white ground with two honey-bees depicted in blue. Thus the two bees suggested his own name and the industry of the honey-bee. This play upon his name seems to have been in use by Boyd over a long period of years, for in occasional writings which have come under the author's notice, instead of appending a signature to a letter, and especially one to family connections of the gentler sex, a pen sketch of two honey-bees gave both originality and humour to the epistle, at the same time indicating the personality of the writer.

It would hardly be fitting to close this section without some reference to Boyd's yacht, "Wanderer."

The "Wanderer" created an immense amount of interest upon her arrival in Australian waters, due no doubt to the descriptions given in London papers about the time of her cruise to Sydney. For some years prior to Boyd's arrival in Sydney, his yacht had been in prominence as a unit of the Royal Yacht Squadron, and her owner had made full use of the prestige which his membership in that august body permitted. It is recorded that on more than one occasion during a gathering of the squadron off Cowes, visiting Royalty had been pleased to dine on board the "Wanderer." Boyd's personal intimacy with certain of the Royal Family of England gave him rather unprecedented opportunity to act as host, and it appears as though he took full advantage. The various coastal cruises which were undertaken were noted by the press and his brother yachtsmen of the squadron.

The "Wanderer" has been variously described as of eighty-four tons measurement, also of 240 tons old measurement; the illustration will give an impression of her actual size. Extracting from a number of descriptions, the following will be interesting:—

A schooner of architectural proportions befitting a yacht, her hull low and black, her taut and tapering masts, her choice armament, her luxurious accommodations, and matchless sailing qualities. . . . A very fast-sailing topsail schooner, she had a flush deck; her cabins were fitted up with every possible attention to convenience, and with great elegance. Her armament consisted of four brass deck guns, two six-pounders and two four-pounders mounted on carriages resembling Dolphins, four two-pounders (rail guns, two on each side), and one brass twelve-pounder traversing gun ("Long Tom") which had done service at Waterloo. In all, thirteen serviceable guns. Besides these there were two small highly ornamented guns used for firing signals. These were said to have been obtained from the wreck of the "Royal George" at Spithead, and a coat of arms traceable upon them was supposed to be that of Admiral Kempenfeldt."



Benjamin Boyd's Yacht, "Wanderer."

Served by a crew of fourteen picked hands, the "Wanderer" became an object of much envy whilst in Australian waters. Enjoying the privileges of a man-o'-war, as a unit of the Royal Yacht Squadron, the "Wanderer" was free of all restraint or control in entering, leaving, or anchoring within a British port. Her usual anchorage whilst in Port Jackson was within Farm Cove.

After her arrival in Australian waters the yacht made occasional cruises to Hobart and Port Phillip, and for nearly two years was in Twofold Bay, acting as a residence for Mr. Brierly during the preliminary building operations at Boydtown and East Boyd.

The social side of her connection with Sydney life seems to have centered in the annual regattas in Port Jackson. Benjamin Boyd collected intimate persons of high standing round the hospitable dining table on his yacht on these memorable occasions.

Arriving in Port Jackson on July 18, 1842, the "Wanderer" and her owner were accorded a spectacular welcome ; bunting flew from many vessels in port and from flagstaffs on shore ; salutes were fired in her honour.

For two years Benjamin Boyd was hailed as perhaps the most popular and important person in the colony. His favours were sought for keenly.

Three years later he had passed the zenith of his career and little serious notice was given to his movements or actions, other than in a critical manner.

The "Wanderer" sailed from Port Jackson for California on October 26, 1849—Benjamin Boyd was seeking other avenues for the employment of his energy. No salutes were fired upon this occasion, neither was there any display of bunting to mark the event.

Upon the South Reef, as the "Wanderer" sailed out of Port Jackson in 1849, accident provided a memento of her sojourn in the port. Her best bower anchor was lost—"as a parting legacy to the colony in which I had hoped for so much, and though in part succeeded yet in the main failed through little of my own fault." So Benjamin Boyd described his exit in the last letter written by him to one of his closest associates. But the "Wanderer" left much more than her anchor in colonial waters. Returning to Australia after the loss of her owner (Benjamin Boyd), the yacht was beset by unusually severe gales, and, in endeavouring to make the entrance to Port Macquarie, was completely wrecked. It is in that area that the greater portion of mementos of the "Wanderer" are to be seen. Visitors to Port Macquarie may examine some of these treasured mementos and hear the story of the wreck from the older residents.

WHALING.

BENJAMIN BOYD included whaling, both on shore and deep sea, in his active enterprises. It is recorded that he had no less than nine deep-sea whalers under his control. Several of these vessels seem to have been owned by other interests, Boyd acting as port agent and arranging the final disposal of the oil and bone. According to an official record of 1844 it would appear that his entry into that phase of whaling was welcomed. Quoting from a Sydney newspaper, "The Sydney Record," of February 24, 1844, the announcement and comment is interesting :—

New Whalers.—Perhaps there is no individual who has done so much for the colony, and in so short a time, as Mr. Benjamin Boyd. We understand that the "William," "Fame" and "Juno," lately purchased by him, are now undergoing thorough repairs and are fitting up as whalers. These ships will shortly be ready for sea. We hope success may attend their voyages, for if there ever is one gentleman more than another who deserves to be amply remunerated for his enterprising speculations, that gentleman is Mr. Boyd. If we had a few more such men in the colony it would soon go ahead.

It would appear from later records that the "Margaret" and "Terror" were added to Boyd's fleet of whalers; the "British Sovereign" also being on several occasions utilised by him for the same purpose.

Deep-sea whaling being rather disconnected with Benjamin Boyd's activities, so far as this book is designed, it is proposed to confine the references to shore whaling. The following sketchy description will doubtless cover the subject in a suitable manner. The actual thrills of the chase are left to the imagination and to the pages of books specially designed for recounting such episodes.

The period is 1843-1847, the active interests at Twofold Bay being Benjamin Boyd and the Imlay brothers, each having well-founded whaling stations and well-equipped boats and gear, their crews being led by men experienced in whaling. In addition, the bay was the regular resort of deep-sea whaling vessels, whereat many a "full" barque spent a week or more "trying-out" the blubber of whales caught at sea. Owing to the immense number of leviathans in the immediate precincts of Twofold Bay, the masters deemed it better to catch whales and to subsequently try them out in the security of that harbour.

The actual whaling station was a group of buildings and huts on the shore, whereat the dead whales were stripped of their thick coating of fat, known as "blubber." First a "slip-way," fitted with either a capstan head or some form of hauling gear whereby the heavy "blanket" pieces of blubber might be hauled from the car-

case to the floor of the cutting-up shed. Next are the pots—huge cauldrons seated over capacious fireplaces. Into these pots are fed chunks of blubber. The heat from the fire gradually exudes the oil; experience teaches the point at which the oil has been sufficiently boiled, when it is drawn off for cooling and subsequent storage in tanks or barrels. The cooperage was always in a convenient position adjacent to the try-works; barrels were wholly set up at the works in those years and part of the personnel included expert coopers.

The general appearance of such a station might be at first likened to a boat-builder's yard, for in addition to the actual whaling equipment and treatment works, boat-repairing was a very important part of the industry. Boat-ways, davits, hoisting gear (in the old form of tripod erected in shallow water) and reserve supplies of the multitudinous incidentals necessary to the business, formed the adjuncts; dotted here and there, in handy positions, the huts of the men engaged, and a general cook-hut with its gear—these completed the scene.

Viewed from the anchorage usually used by the whaling barques at the bay, one of these stations might be described—that of Benjamin Boyd. Immediately opposite, a beautiful sandy beach; beyond, on a level green spot, some bark huts of whalers. A few native "gunyahs" constructed of bark and bushes. Scattered round the beach and under rocks are enormous bones of whales, bleaching in the weather. To the right of this beach (also to the left) the land sweeps up in gentle slopes beyond and around in sombre forests of gum and that changeless olive-green tone which characterises its foliage, the whiteness visible here and there on tree-trunks and branches giving an appearance as though bark had been stripped off. A grey-white tinge to the right of this is a rude jetty—used for "cutting-in" the whales. Behind, a shed containing the try-works; in the foreground, a light jetty for hoisting up the boats. Away to the west is the whole sweep of Twofold Bay; on a promontory called Terrorroga is a beacon—the "Wanderer's Tower"; beyond rises Mount Imlay, dark and blue. Long strips of dense white mist hang suspended in the valleys under the mountain and around the shores of the bay. Rising in the morning air, one hears the swish of the tide, the cawing of innumerable crows, screams of black cockatoos, "yo-ho's" of men hoisting in the whale, blacks calling to each other on the shore, and through it all the familiar crow of the cock.

On the opposite side of the bay, on the shores of Snug Cove, the Imlay brothers had their whaling station. Situated on the low isthmus which connects the circular headland known for many years as "Lookout Point" and the mainland rising in steep hills, on the first slopes of which was laid out the township of Eden, the

try-works, cooperage, men's huts and a better class of house occupied by the overseer, made up what was at this time the only centre of industry on the northern side of Twofold Bay. Fronting the try-works, the usual slipways for haulage of blubber, the tripod for cutting-in, whilst a short, rough jetty fitted with boat davits finished off the scene. One point of unique interest was a pavement extending from the overseer's hut to the beach edge, and constructed of vertebrae plates of whale—these plates giving silent testimony to the great number of whales which had been taken and treated at this whaling station. Glinting in the sunlight over the low isthmus stretched the waters of the outer bay, flanked by the long headland of North Head, with its attendant rock—the Mewstone; to the south the hills skirting the inner bay, and on the horizon to the west, Mount Imlay, sentinel-like, guarding both Imlays and Boyd.

Both stations had whaleboats of accepted design of the period, mostly pulling five oars, others of seven and nine, whilst records tell of an eleven-oared whaleboat. Built of the best Huon pine and generally "carvel" design, these long, lean craft were capable of facing severe seas and the fiercest of whaling thrills. The crews took a personal interest and pride in their boats and all gear was carefully handled. Whale-lines were neatly coiled in "tubs" fixed between the stroke-oarsman and the "tub"-oarsman, harpoons protected by leathern or raw-hide covers, lances similarly protected, hatchets in handy cleats at the bows, water-breaker filled and well secured, knives in sheaths and of the keenest edge ready for instant use in event of emergency or the fouling of a line—the whole presided over by the steersman, who, once the harpooner had fastened to a whale, changed places with him and conducted operations from the bow.

Both whaling parties included Europeans and aboriginal crews, and these had but little superiority over each other—that is, as to whaling ability. The Europeans were generally men of previous whaling experience in deep-sea whaling barques, although odd men might have been raw hands during the first month; a few chases gave a knowledge and experience impossible of other acquirement. The harpooners were selected on account of other ability to direct their weapon both unerringly and speedily, thus ensuring a secure hold in the whale's body. The steersman then took control, whilst the harpooner took charge of the long steer oar. The pulling hands took their orders from the steersman, now become the headsman, two finding very active and important work in regulating the whale-line as it either ran out in the wake of a fast fish, or re-coiling it in the tub as slack was hauled in. Midship and bow oarsmen had their time occupied in backing and filling as the headsman might require for the whaleboat's position.

Woe betide the man who mishandled his oar during the excitement of the chase !

There was the greatest rivalry in possession of boats which were capable of speed, and many a hot argument on the subject ended in a fistic encounter. Visiting deep-sea whaling barques were always subjected to much criticism in the matter of their boats, and when a vessel arrived in port with a likely-looking spic and span seven-oared boat, preliminary enquiries were at once opened up as to the possibility of purchase by either one or other of the shore parties.

Posted on various points of vantage round the bay, from whence clear and uninterrupted views might be had of the open coastline and sea-way, were groups of men from each whaling party. Equipped with telescopes, these men watched throughout the day for signs of whales. Moored below the cliffs nearby, or upon boatways, as the case might be, ready for instant use, the long, lean craft waited. From dawn to sunset these watchers held to their posts during the whaling season. A pecuniary interest uppermost, the whaling crews watched keenly, not only for signs of whales but for the movements of rival crews. Their pecuniary interest was dependent upon the value of the oil and bone which might be won from whales taken by their boats during a season. A weekly or daily wage was not their portion—more whales meant more dollars.

Gratuities were frequently given for first sight of a whale, first boat to fasten, largest whale taken, and so on—varying baits to tempt the crews to greater and keener exertions. Time was of no consideration ; daylight or even through the long nights, a whale in sight or a whale known to be within reach, and away went the boats in chase, knowing nothing of each coming second and what fate might have in store. A full day's rowing might end in a broken boat and even one or more of its crew either maimed for life or possibly gone from this life for ever. Whaling had its intense thrills.

The aborigines employed as whalers by Boyd and the Imlays were men of peculiar abilities. Able to row speedily and strongly in short bursts, these natives were valuable adjuncts to a shore whaling party. Such attributes meant quick fastening and possibly rapid killing of whales. Their vision was superior to that of the European crews—they needed no telescopes to mark the appearance and course of a whale. In sustained endurance they fell short of the white crews, but records prove that upon the whole the black crews captured almost as many whales as the European crews. During the whaling season the natives lived much as the white men did—they returned to their native state when the

season was over and their engagement completed. It is recorded that in 1844 no less than eighteen aboriginals were employed by Imlays in whaling, whilst Boyd had two boat-crews of these natives.

Day after day might pass without a sign of a passing whale—that was part of the shore whaling game. Naturally, these days of enforced idleness gave occasion for discontent amongst the waiting boat-crews; yet should the merest wisp of mist be seen upon the sea surface then all was changed. Should the lookout be occupied by parties from rival stations, then the greatest caution was necessary. Many were the artifices employed to enable a boat's crew to steal a march upon its rival.

If all had noticed the sign of a whale in sight, then it was a mad rush and scramble to man the waiting boats; the fastest boat had the best opportunity to come to a point of vantage, and in the race strong men bent their long ashen oars as they rhythmically swung their bodies and literally lifted the boat along. Then came the supreme moment. The steersman quietly calls "Stand up." The harpooner peaks his oar and, rising, turns his face to the bow, braces himself by means of the thigh-cleats at the bows, and with his harpoon held in easy position for instant use, calmly awaits the opportunity for which all hands hope. The harpooner is solely responsible as to the moment at which he should hurl the keen-edged shaft. Should the opportunity be exceptional, the harpoon will sink deeply into the whale's body, penetrating the thick coating of blubber and piercing its flesh; but it is the coating of blubber which will hold the iron fast. So constructed that upon lodgment and at the least strain upon the hinged harpoon-head a light wooden pin, or toggle, is broken, the head swings cross-ways and thus forms a barrier beneath the blubber which resists an immense pull to dislodge it.

The harpoon is well driven and the whale is racing madly away, the line screaming through the chocks for'ard and round the bollard astern. In a flash the steersman and harpooner change places. The headsman (as the steersman has now become) is ready with lance in hand, well braced with thigh in cleat, for the first opportunity to drive his weapon into the whale's body. The monster rises within a few feet of the boat, having circled in his dive. As he breaks water and the exhausted breath escapes from his breathing holes, the keen lance finds a vital spot. Quickly withdrawn, the lance is again plunged into the giant body. Blood streams from the wounds and mingles with the sea. Should the lance-thrust have been sufficient to kill the monster, then little more is left to be told. The alternative . . . the stories told by Chat-terton, Frank Bullen, and the inimitable pages of Melville's "Moby Dick" tell of what may, and does, take place.

During the period previously mentioned, 1843 to 1847, the competition in shore whaling at Twofold Bay was so keen that no less than thirty whaleboats were actively engaged in the business.

It is interesting to note something of the industry insofar as the commercial aspect is concerned, during this period. The table gives interesting data and is compiled from Sydney Customs returns, covering the exports to England.

Year	Black Whale Oil		Whalebone	
	Tuns	Value	Tons	Value
1843	380	£7,678	197	£8,427
1844	347	6,756	7	925
1845	549	10,460	19	2,267
1846	294	5,062	16	2,516
1847	287	5,373	7	1,210

Sperm whales taken during that period and the products passing through Sydney Customs represented 5,389 tuns of oil valued at £312,173. Benjamin Boyd participated in both classes of whaling and the figures naturally include the results of his operations.

One glimpse of whaling in Boyd's period from Twofold Bay is worth including here.

Benjammin Boyd did actually partake in a whale chase. He had directed that one of the "Wanderer's" boats be suitably fitted, and on the occasion of a visit during the active season, made an essay to catch a whale. With a crew made up of four of the principal officers at the bay, Boyd headed his boat and went in chase. Misfortune nearly terminated the career of all five—the boat narrowly escaped destruction by a blow from the monster's tail in its dying struggles. That evening, just before dusk, coming in before a strong north-easter, the full complement of eight whaleboats forming Boyd's party formed a most picturesque sight. Seven whaleboats ahead, strung in a line, with their lug-sails bulging to the wind, the dead whale surging along in tow, and the eighth boat astern to keep the "killer-whales" from taking too great a toll of the carcase as payment for their services in the chase. As each boat topped the successive heaves of the wind-swept sea, the whale carcase lurched and wallowed in its uneasy course. With the setting sun casting long shadows over the waters of the bay, and the peculiar leaden hue so common to the sky at late afternoon during a north-easter, the sight must have been remarkable indeed. Doubtless, Benjamin Boyd, in company with his officers, viewed the incoming boats from the deck of his schooner-yacht "Wanderer" lying at anchor in East Boyd Bay,

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and agreed with Oswald Brierly, the artist and supervisor of the whaling station, that it was "one of the prettiest sights seen for some time."

Nothing remains to-day of the once active whaling station at East Boyd. As has been mentioned, the property passed into other hands, and the site of what was once perhaps the most interesting shore whaling stations south of the equator is to-day occupied by a private residence, the only visible relics of the former years being the brick-lined wells and a few fine old mulberry trees—testimony to the Benjamin Boyd interests of 1843 to 1848.



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